

- (1) The War Minister expresses his views on current affairs to an American correspondent.
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Mr. Bapp, Tokyo branch manager of the Associated Press, visited the War Minister at his official residence on 23th February (1932) and put forth to him the following several questions concerning the current affairs, to which the Minister gave his answers through Colonel FURUJO, chief of Press Section.

- Q. Is Japan intending to station in Manchuria the present strength of force on a permanent scale?
- A. Japan has the right of stationing her troops in Manchuria in accordance with the existing treaties and so Japan will, of course, station its troops there permanently in accordance with the provisions of the treaties, but the question as to how long the present strength of force should be maintained depends entirely on the nature of things, and so it is difficult to foresee now. However, it is seen that the question now requires reconsideration since the situation has changed completely since the Manchurian Incident.
- Q. What is the present strength of force in Manchuria?
- A. Ten thousand four hundred troops has stationed there since before the incident and eleven thousand six hundred were added after the outbreak of the incident; in all, there were as many as twenty-two thousand troops stationed there, but a part of this strength is now being returned to Japan.

- (1) The War Minister expresses his views on current affairs to an American correspondent.

Mr. Bapp, Tokyo branch manager of the Associated Press, visited the War Minister at his official residence on 28th February (1932) and put forth to him the following several questions concerning the current affairs, to which the Minister gave his answers through Colonel FURUKO, chief of Press Section.

- Q. Have you not a plan of removing some divisions from Japan to Korea to relieve the Muro Division now operating in Manchuria?
- A. At the present times. I'm not considering the matter.
- Q. Is Japan going to permanently occupy Harbin, Chin-Chow, Kirin, Ting-tiah-tung, Tsitsihar, Ta-ku-shang, Tung-liao and other places which are not in the Manchurian Railway Zone?
- A. Stationing of troops in the places outside the Manchurian Railway Zone is a temporary expedience to cope with the current situation, and its duration depends on the progress of pacification through out Manchuria and Mongolia. So far, these districts are still ridden with the remnants of defeated troops, and groups of bandits are overrunning the place, disturbing law and order and especially, destroying the economic life of the public there. In spite of these

aggravated conditions, the Japanese force has not taken steps other than to exercise the right of self-defense and to suppress the bandits. I guarantee that unless the lives and properties of Japanese troops and Japanese nationals were threatened, our military action would not exceed the scope in which we have been acting. Now since the troops of Ting-Tiao and Li-Tu which have been plotting insubordinate activities in North Manchuria under instigation of Chang-tsuo-shao, were driven out from Harbin by our TAMON Division, the political situation in North Manchuria finally began to show signs of pacification. If the armed organizations to resist and challenge the Japanese force were to disappear, I do not think North Manchuria would suffer from the havoc of war any more.

- Q. Will the troops under command of Lt. Gen. TAMON be stationed at Harbin, or will they march, in pursuit of the enemy, toward either the west or the east along the Chinese Eastern Railways, or toward the north-west, heading the lower course of the Sungair River?
- A. That the anti-Kirin troops massacred our air force officers, murdered, injured, and raped our fellow country men both of the homeland and Korea, destroyed and looted their houses and the TAIHOKU Newspaper office, and again made surprise attacks on our troops at several places along the southern part of the Eastern China Railway specially at Shwangchengpu, must be reproached to the end, however, the action will depend on the tactical movement of the troops, coping with the situation.

Q. Your Excellency do you believe that the occupation of Harbin and use and control of branch lines of the Eastern China Railways will not lead to clash with the Soviet Union?

A. It solely depends upon the Soviet Union's attitude; we have no intention of causing any trouble with that country. Rather I appreciate the fair attitude of both the Soviet Union and the authorities of the Eastern China Railways, who have fully understood the righteousness of our actions in North Manchuria.

Fundamentally, the Soviet Union's communistic principles and our national policy are as irreconcilable as oil and water, but as long as they respect our actions in Manchuria and do not interfere, we shall never attempt to infringe upon their border. I would like to mention also that the use of the Chinese Eastern Railways by us had clearly been approved of by the Soviet Union and there has not been a case in which we took control of this railway as was alluded in your question.

Q. Hasn't Japan the intention of purchasing the branch lines of this railway?

A. The question does not fall within the sphere of my answer. I can only say that I have never heard of such a plan.

Q. Does Japan desire to control the whole lines of the China Railways?

- A. Japan has never harboured such desires.
- Q. What is the relation between the Japanese force in Manchuria and the New Government which is about to be established there?
- A. It looks to me that the principle of the new government is to safely secure the borders, govern the thirty million people well, respect the international faith and fidelity and give to every country of the world alike the benefits of an open-door policy and equal opportunity.
- Q. What is the intention of the Japanese force in Shanghai?
- A. The object of Japan's sending troops to Shanghai is, as it was officially declared by the government, to insure the safety of the numerous Japanese subjects and the billions of wealthⁱⁿ that district, discharging at the same time the duty which Japan owes to the world with regards to the protection of the international settlement; and so, the present trouble, as far as I can see it, will easily solved if China either stops its hostile activities or does not disturb our execution of military to achieve our aims.
- Q. Does the Japanese force intend to occupy Shanghai for a long period of time?
- A. We have no such intentions, quickly, but as our position is of a passive nature, the withdrawal may be rather lengthened, depending upon China's attitude. I hope that the foreign Powers will correctly recognise this case and will cooperate with us toward a speedy recovery of this international city

back to normalcy.

Q. How far away beyond Shanghai will your operations intend to cover? Will it cover as far as Soochow or Nanking?

A. I have already stated that the object of dispatching troops to Shanghai was to prevent as much as possible the disastrous expansion of the situation, to exterminate quickly and peacefully the uneasiness of Japanese nationals over their lives and properties, and to permit the foreigners living in Shanghai to enjoy the same pleasures and happiness as the Japanese. No one desires the expansion of the trouble. If there should be anyone who desires it, it would be the certain Chinese military clique and the Chinese Communist Party, who, by complicating trouble between Japan and China, plot to involve Britain and American into the whirl of confusion. Such being the case, it would be clear to you that Japan has no intention of carrying out its operation to any distant place from Shanghai. However, I wish you to understand this that, if any unfortunate incident should arise which appeared a menace to our troops, then that action would become a basis for our troops to operate. In any case, it is quite proper that Chinese troops be demanded to withdrawing from Shanghai, international city, so as not to threaten the safety of the city, and the problem lies in whether the

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demand will be settled by diplomatic negotiations, without any bloodshed, or whether it necessitates the execution of force. We, of course, prefer the former, but I regret to say it is quite dubious that the Nineteenth Route Army would withdraw peacefully.

- Q. There is a rumor prevailing in Japan proper that Japan will carry out a general mobilization, but is there really such plan.
- A. Absolutely not. I wish you don't believe in false rumors. I feel that if an influential establishment like your firm believed in such a rumor and made report of it without first investigating its truth, it will cause considerable harm to your public.
- Q. What are the plans of the Army concerning the South and West of Manchuria, that is, Peiping, Tientsin and Jehol districts?
- A. Nothing is being planned.
- Q. Does the War Minister consider it necessary to expand the military actions over the above-mentioned area in order to secure law and order in Manchuria?
- A. The present situation as it is, he does not consider it necessary to do so.
- Q. For the restoration and maintenance of law and order in the Shanghai vicinity, to what extent will the Japanese Expeditionary Force take joint operations with the armies of foreign powers in Shanghai?

The Practical side of this question has been left exclusively to the discretion of the Commander of the Expeditionary Force there. Our forces have especially demanded of the commander that we aim to promote peace and prosperity in Shanghai with the spirit of cooperation and mutual assistance with the foreign powers concerned, and also endeavour to contribute to peace and welfare in the Far East.

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- (2) Talks with Mr. Roosevelt, Governor-General
of the Philippine Islands.

(21st February 1932)

Mr. Roosevelt, Governor-General of the Philippine Islands who stopped over in Tokyo for two days on the way to his new post, visited War Minister Araki at his official residence at 40 minutes past ten a.m. on 20th February 1932 and after a conference of about 40 minutes, left there. Among the subjects of the conference, those which were related to the current affairs were as follow.

(Mr. Roosevelt was accompanied with Mr. Forbes, American Ambassador to Japan, Lt. Col. MacRoy, Military Attache and one other).

Governor-General. Are you intending to reinforce the troops in Shanghai, and would the Japanese troops march out beyond the line of 20 kilometres?

^s
Minister Our intention is to minimize the theatre of operation in Shanghai, settle the matter in the quickest manner and to restore the state of peace to Shanghai.

^e
Whether we will march beyond the line of 20 kilometers or not solely depends on China's attitude and also on the situations in the future. If they challenge us from beyond the line, I am afraid we will have to cross this line to meet it.

The Chinese 19th Army is primarily a Canton army and it includes in it some red troops. It is reported to have been supported by Chiang Kai-Shek and its present strength is over ninety thousand, and so whether we would reinforce our troops or not is to be decided in accordance with the movement of this army, but we are hoping for an amicable settlement of the matter with the present strength upon negotiations on the spot. As for the size of the troops to be dispatched, it is the question to be decided by the General Staff Headquarters and they are now studying the matter.

Ambassador Forbes If the 19th Army included red troops, why don't you get Chinese white troops to attack it?

Minister Chinese troops are quite inconstant. Today's red troops could easily be the tomorrow's white troops, and as they are not dependable, what you suggest is desirable for us but not practicable.

American Attache According to informations we have received, the Soviet Union has recently reinforced their garrison in Russo-Chinese border; Tank and air force in particular were said to have been strengthened. Did you know anything about this?

Minister I was informed that they strengthened the garrison in Vladivostok, but was also informed that they did not appear intending to make trouble with the Japanese force.

Further information from other source reported me

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that Chiang Kai-Shek is planning to establish a new line of communication within three months in order to transport from Sinkiang to China three million rounds of rifle ammunitions and other arms and ammunitions which he had asked the Soviet for supply.

(3) Gist of discussion in the conference
between the party of the League of
Nations Inquiry Committee and War
Minister Araki.

The party of the League of Nations Inquiry Committee visited War Minister Araki at his official residence at ten o'clock on 5th March 1932 and had a conference with him until noon. The following is the gist of discussions recorded out of the writer's memory after the conference was closed, and is not the one duly censored by the speakers of the conference.

Colonel Furujo, Chief of Press Section,
War Ministry.

Lord Lytton Today I should like to ask you about relations between Manchuria and Japan, as viewed specially from operational stand point.

Minister In order to answer the question, I must explain you first the real state of affairs in Manchuria, and then the principle and policy of Japan at the time of her foundation as well as the mission and duty charged on Japan in the East. I shall try to be as brief as possible. In order to explain you the mission tasked on Japanese people, I want you to have a clear conception of the national polity of Japan.

The essential point of Japan's national polity is self-explanatory in the fact that the policy of the Imperial House has always been fully supported by the people, and this principle is very well expressed in the spirits represented by the Three Sacred Treasures of the Imperial Household. Among the Three Sacred Treasures, The Mirror expresses Fairness and Justice. The Beak expresses Philanthropism and Love of Human Beings. The Sword expresses Realization or Practice. These are concurrently the spirits of the Imperial House and the people have put them into practice to lay foundation for the existence of Japan. Japan has had three hundred years of peace, due to close door policy of Tokugawa Government. During these long period of time, Japanese people had quite accustomed themselves to peace, and it was only when the door was opened in the beginning of Meiji Era that they started communication with the outside world.

Japan in those days had a land of only 140,000 square miles (present area is 260,000 sq. miles) and of this small area, only 15 % was cultivable, the rest being hilly or uncultivable land and so the general condition should be said much worse than that of Finland or Italy. Since the Meiji Era, its population made a tremendous

increase on the small area, and Japan could barely made the present progress thanks to the ⁿinvestments of European and American countries. During these time, China several times abetted Japan, with the result that Tsushima and Hokkaido were endangered and Korea was threatened.

In fact, Korea was placed under Chinese control at the occasion of 1884 incident and at several other occasions. Then Sino-Japan war broke out. Against Chinese battleships of 7,000 ton class, such as Tingyuan and Chingyuan, Japan fought with 3,000 ton class battleships and as the result of this war, China conceded Formosa to Japan. Then there arose the question with Russia, that was Three Power Interference. Incidentally, this was the incident which infuriated me and made me determine to become a soldier. As the result of this Three Power Interference, the Liaotung Peninsular was retroceded to China, and this incident created a very bitter impression of Manchurian problems among the Japanese people. Thus Russia gained hegemony over Manchuria and opened up a cause for the Russian problems of to-day. When Manchuria was abandoned by China and was dominated by Russia for ten years, what impressed the youth of Japan more than anything else was the Manchurian problem, and it was felt that unless the threatening over Manchuria was eliminated, the peace of the East should

never be established. Thus the Russo-Japanese War broke out and was fought in 1904-1905.

Besides this vitally important problem, consideration must also be given to the questions concerning livelihood. The world closed its doors against Japan. California did it and so did Australia. It necessitated Japan to depend on Manchuria for its existence in this world, and so the Japanese people placed much importance in the Manchurian problems.

Lytton As the measures to counter with the increased population of Japan, does Japan need Manchuria for the supply of raw materials, and does Japan intend to rely solely on the rights which Japan had acquired in Manchuria in the past?

Minister Japan is contented if only she could administer her rightful actions there, because all that Japan requires is to pursue along the natural path of human kind; in another words, Japan is contented to live within the sphere that the world is willing to admit for Japan, and in order to do so, Japan must begin by realizing peace and by practicing philanthropism under the spirits of fairness and justice. To be more precise, we aim at creating peaceful Manchuria where our daily life is rationalized to its highest extent. We require Manchuria in such a condition where Japanese people can discharge their duty toward the East and can

live without being subject to capitalistic exploitation, and where all the people, whatever nationality they may be, Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, Europeans or Americans, can live peacefully under rationalized daily method. And so what we require is to bring peace for the world wide human beings, and if Russia disturbs it, we must do something to stop it.

Manchuria, for the past twenty years after the Chinese Revolution, has been in constant chaos. Every effort on the part of Japan for maintaining peace in that country was always disappointed and disturbed by China. It was more aggravated after the retrocession of Tsingtao. Movements for anti-Japanese and for contempting or insulting Japanese were seen everywhere in Manchuria, on top of it, the recent Major Nakamura Incident and the Wan-pao-shan Incident and several other incidents of the similar nature led the condition from bad to worse. These Anti-Japanese and other movements which were carried out for many years in the past have infuriated the Japanese people and contributed toward consolidating their will.

As Japan's object is to maintain peace in Manchuria by way of preventing any peace-disturbing interference, all that Japan requires from tactical view point is the freedom of actions sufficient to secure peace in that country. Here I should like to reiterate my former assertion that is

there any other country, beside Japan, which should be able to maintain peace in the East?

Lytton Do you require Manchurian government, in favour of Japan, as a kind of shock absorbing zone between China and Japan? Or does Japan need to take an offensive in accordance with the provisions of various treaties that Japan has signed by this time?

Minister Under the present circumstances in the East, all that Japan requires is maintenance of peace in Manchuria, and whether peace be maintained or not largely depends on the extent of confidence which foreign powers will place on the new government. In another words, we require in Manchuria a new nation which is powerful enough to maintain peace in Manchuria and incidentally peace in the East. If foundation of new nation which is powerful enough to maintain peace in Manchuria fails to realize, Japan will have to apply some means to secure peace there.

Major General McCoy (U.S.A.) As far as China is concerned, Japan may be satisfied with the new nation in Manchuria which is powerful enough to maintain peace within Manchuria, but what Japan would do if Russia invaded there?

Minister There are two kinds of national defence. One is from relative necessity and the other is from absolute necessity. The question lies in whether Russia can be

trustful, either from view point of thought or international considerations. Then there is China which, at present, is not a conformed nation. Japan only requires peace in the East in the minimum way. If Russia tries to invade into the East, either for the purpose of spreading their principle or for other purpose, Japan cannot leave it alone. On the other hand, if China establishes any dependable government, Japan also must take appropriate means to correspond it. I fail to see any reason why Russia must reinforce their force in the Far East and in my opinion, they should withdraw their force from the East for the sake of peace in the East.

(4) War Minister reveals to a French Correspondent his true motive for remaining in the office in the new cabinet.

Questions raised by Mrs. Violis, correspondent to the "Petit Parisien", a French paper, and answers to it by the War Minister.

Q. What do you think is the public opinion on your decision for remaining in the post?

A. I have no time for public Criticism. My principle is that as long as God really knows me, I don't want the people to know me.

Q. If your Excellency have any message to be conveyed to the French people, I should be glad to hear of it .

A. France is the first nation whose people really assumed the most sincere attitude in trying to understand the feeling of Japanese people of late and we are very grateful for their sympathy with us.

In the last European war, Japan cooperated with France and enthusiastically devoted herself for the task of upholding peace, morality and justice of the world.

What Japan desires now is the promotion of world's peace and establishment of international justice. I hope that the French people will understand the real cause for

international peace in connection with the Japan's position in the world and, will plunge a step forward toward promotion of peace under cooperation with our country.

I have been paying my profound respect toward patriotism of French people who have never lost their passionate devotion to their mother land throughout difficulties, however unbearable they may have been. The admirable attitude of the French people in which the whole nation united after the France-Prussian War and their unbending morale and patriotism displayed in the face of great difficulties throughout the last great war have deeply impressed the hearts of Japanese people, who found in them something corresponding to their own feeling. Please convey to the people of France, our friendly nation, my sincere respect as well as my hearty pray for the continuance of this spirits forever.

- (5) The substance of what War Minister Araki talked to Lord Lytton and his party at the conference.
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(7th July 1932)

In order to explain you Japan's attitude and policy as viewed from international stand point, I should like to ask you to understand first the present system of culture in Japan, people's natural aspiration arising from this system and the actual state of affairs of the friendly nations which have direct relation with Japan, especially of those which surround this country. I have already explained you in our last meeting several problems concerning Japan, and so today I wish to give my appreciation and deduction of the future situation of the East, and with it I hope to explain the inevitable appropriateness of the present Japan's policy toward the East, especially toward Manchuria and Mongolia, which was based on Japan's heart felt desire for establishment of peace in the East. It is as follow.

- (1) FUTURE OF CHINA The basic factor which underlies all the considerations for the Eastern problems is the existence of the Han race community, which is consist of a huge population of four hundred million and which locates on a vast area resulting from four thousand years of historical development. It was for this reason that Japan had proposed and asked for the study of China at the beginning of your present investigation.

This race had its own characteristic civilization, developed on its close-door policy, until 1840. Then it had to face the modern European civilization as the result of the Opium War. This change, combined with the characteristic nature of Chinese community of being easily subject to disorder, sow the seeds for future confusion and this state has been brought over until today.

When I consider future of Chinese race as one of the oriental people who are now in the process of many years of historical development, I regret to have to say that as long as the senior nations of the civilized world continue their present attitude of being too mercenary in Chinese affairs and continue to work in such a way as to force the gratitude of Chinese people, China will be bound to maintain the present chaotic state almost for ever and I am very much afraid it will give ample opportunities in the nearest future for the dreadful communistic bandits in China to disturb law and order in all parts of China.

Under the circumstance, what underlies Japan's concrete policy toward China is her firm determination to do all she can to prevent the occurrence of such regrettable state and in case it should occur, to restore peace in the East, appointing herself as the central power of the worldwide human co-operation. If you will consider the political and social conditions of China since 1912 revolution, and especially the state in which the "Third Internationale" assisted the revolution, and if you will compare it to the political conditions of China in olden times, you will be bound to come to the conclusion that China is now actually on the slant to this

regrettable state. In view of four hundred million people, vast area and economic worth contained in this country, it is a great and common problem of the world to study, with every available world's knowledge together, how to give China an appropriate guidance, and this is the most important matter with which Japan has been concerned at all times.

(3) Japan's fundamental policy toward China

The existence of the above two important facts plays the decisive part in determining Japan's fundamental policy toward the East. The only possible means that we can take at this important time is to deal with the actual problems in cooperation with the party which really wishes for an establishment of partial peace in several localities in China in succession until it covers whole of the area. Caution must be taken while doing as above so that timely and appropriate means can immediately be adopted in case the life and property of foreign nationals living in the area should be in any way menaced. The most essential point is to keep away from calamities, and so if it were necessary for this purpose, we will have to put in force our right of self-defence. This is really of vital importance to Japan, so important that we call it our life line, and it is more so in Manchuria than in any other place in the East. You have made the inspecting tour throughout Manchuria now, and so I trust you would have been convinced of the vital importance of Manchuria in relation to existence of Japan. Now I wish you to further understand that Manchuria is an absolute necessity for Japan either from geo-graphical or from national defence point of view.

(4) Japan's Policy toward Manchuria As you know, there was founded in Manchuria a new country with full spirits of independence. As long as this new country endeavours to establish peace in the East, without losing her initial spirits of independence and in cooperation with our country, all that Japan hopes for is her sound development, and we are quite willing to do our best to support her. If this new country will make a sound and steady progress toward her initial ideal at the time of foundation, I am sure Manchuria will turn out to be an indicator to political security of other parts of China continent. Even a single baby, when born, must be brought up. This is the humanity. Much more so when it is a life of a nation, founded by aspirations of thirty million people. You will agree with me that when a nation is born, the other nation which maintains close interest with the new nation would not be able to ignore its existence; on the contrary, the latter will endeavour to assist the former to become a complete independent state in the quickest manner, and I trust this is what any nation should either from humanity or from international moral point of view.

Japan considers that the sound development of Manchoukuo is the first corner stone on which peace in the East can be established and on this belief, is carrying out the present national movement with the whole hearted desire to prevent happenings of any further bloodshed incident in the Asiatic continent.

1. National defence of Manchukuo All the problems in Manchoukuo have direct and indivisible interest with the fate of Japanese Empire by the following reasons;

1. Manchoukuo constitutes the first front line for the defence of Japanese Empire.

2. Manchoukuo constitutes a vital line of our national economy.

3. In view of historical and present relations between Manchoukuo and our country, Manchoukuo is an object of special interest of Japanese people.

Manchoukuo maintains very important organic relations with Japan in the above mentioned points and therefore it is important for Japan; but in addition to this, it constitutes an advance guard line against the "third internationale" which is a common enemy to all the civilized nations of the world. Maintenance of law and order in Manchoukuo and its due development to such an extent as an establishment of ideal land for co-existence and co-prosperity for both Chinese and Japanese people, are two conditions absolutely necessary for the sound existence of Japanese Empire and I may further say that fate of Manchoukuo has direct concern over that of Japan. This is the reason why Japan is paying more attention than any other country in the world to the problem of defence of Manchoukuo.

2. Communications in Manchoukuo. Due to unsystematic method of construction during the time of old military clique domination, each trunk line of railway in Manchuria has its own operation system which is indifferent to that of others, while communication system has made local and independent development in each city and town, with the result that the whole communication and traffic system in Manchoukuo lacks the vital necessity of controlled operation throughout Manchuria.

Since the general condition in Manchuria is as stated before, the installations and equipment for traffic and communications play an important role to cope with the present situations; for the maintenance of law and order on one hand, and for the economic development of natural resources at present and in the future on the other, prompt management of these installations under controlled system is urgently required.

3. Adoption of Japanese as Manchoukuo Government Officials.

With the outbreak of Manchurian incident, those government officials who used to work under the old "North-Eastern" regime have almost all absconded and so the new government is inviting the trustworthy people among the Manchurians to join it in order to realize, by their cooperation, the long desired peace and happiness of all the inhabitants and to establish an ideal land in Manchuria. The appearance of such new state as above in Manchuria is nothing but the result of aspirations of all the Manchurian and Mongolian people, and it does not in any way contradict Japan's traditional foreign policy of establishing the complete peace in the East, and so Japan has no reason to reject this new state, on the contrary, Japan only wishes its healthy development in Manchuria. Under these considerations, Japan is approving Manchoukuo's adoption of Japanese nationals for its government officials. All the Japanese officials in Manchoukuo government are the people inflamed with self-sacrificing spirits, and immune from any mercenary calculation for themselves; They are now striving to found a new nation at a place where maintenance of law and order is always precarious and where their lives are always in peril.

4. Withdrawal of Japanese Troops into the Manchurian Railway Zone

In view of the present state of affairs in Manchuria, it is the duty of

Japanese troops to maintain peace and order, to protect lives and properties of the Japanese nationals as well as their existing rights, and the subjugation campaign against bandits arises from the necessity of discharging this duty. We have twice made this point clear, once on 10th December at the occasion of adoption of decision of League of Nations Directors Meeting, when we declared to reserve our right of executing the above campaign, and we further clarified this matter in our Third Declaration on 27th December.

Theoretically, the time for withdrawal of the troops into the Manchurian Railway Zone may be when the bandits in Manchuria are annihilated or completely subjugated and when there should be no fear of disturbance of peace and order either from internally or externally, and accordingly it would be the time when there should be no necessity of our military action; but since Manchoukuo has been founded, we like to work out appropriate means to cope with the actual improved situation, taking into consideration the new state of affairs and also the desire of newly formed government.

5. Measures to solve the Manchurian Incident.

The best means to solve the Manchurian Incident would be to recognize the present situation of Manchuria on its way of daily progress, and set up measures based on the status quo.

Manchoukuo has now declared her willingness of fulfilling all the duties that she internationally owes and has promised equal opportunity and open door policy to the world. As for her domestic policy, she is busily

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... restoration of peace and order and in renovation and readjustment of general administrative matters. Thus, on both externally and internally, she is assiduously exerting herself to acquire sufficient function and strength to be called an independent country. The new situation which has appeared in Manchuria does not seem to disturb in any way the maintenance of peace in the East or the welfare of the human kind of the world; On the contrary, this is the realization of the aspirations of thirty million Manchurian people, and furthermore, there are good reasons to expect political settlement of China continent and promotion of Eastern peace upon this new situation. Rationally speaking, I trust every nation ought to expect and hope for the healthy development of this country.

If the Powers of the world should interfere with the new situations or should contrive to place the new government under Chinese regime or under international administration or to covert it into a mandated territory of the League of Nations, we cannot but consider it as being harmful to the sound development of Manchoukuo and as the one which tries to bring back to Manchuria the state of chaos which had existed before the incident. This is the cause of great anxiety for Japan which maintains special relation with Manchuria in respect of national defence, economy and historical events, and I am afraid it will cast shadows over peace in the East as well as on the international relations. I hope that the Powers will have clear and accurate recognition of the present state of affairs in Manchuria and will give necessary and appropriate assistance to her development.

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I venture to add that this is the quickest means of bringing down the Manchurian problems to an amicable settlement.

(6) Ideal of New Japan

Questions raised by Mr. Frazier Hunt, special correspondent to the Hearst International Press and the Cosmopolitan, and the representative of the National Broadcasting Company, and answers to the same by War Minister Araki.

- Q. If all the successive cabinets fail to save the situations, people will come to regard the Fascist Cabinet to be an appropriate and justified one. What is your opinion about this?
- A. When we read the history of Japan, we know that Japan indiscriminately imported all the new thought, new religion and new culture of Buddhism, Confucianism and Christianity but our ancestors have succeeded in masticate them, digest them and in turning them into blood and flesh to nourish us. These contributed to add more glory on and displaying the glorious character of our Empire.
- The Fascism which appeared in Italy was a product of specific circumstances of that country in which Italian race, history and geography were combined together, and so it may be adored in Italy by her country people under the dictatorship of Mr. Mussolini, but as far as Japan is concerned, we have our own ideal, that is "KODŌ" of "Moral code of Imperial Japan" and it would be a very superficial view if any one says that Japan is going to be a country of that principle.
- Q. Has it the Japanese army the right of accelerating and inspiring the building of new Japan based on the pure Japanese ideal?

(Note: - Question means whether the army has right to use its force on the matter which it believes to be for the sake of Japan)

A. It is not the army personnel alone, but the whole Japanese people who should endeavour to realize the ideal of Japanese Empire. The Imperial Japanese Army should not directly concern with the politics, because its ideal is to let no misrule exist in the country; Furthermore, the Imperial Japanese Army moves and takes actions only when the august order of His Majesty the Emperor is given.

Q. Your Excellency, do you not consider that the young men of the world as a whole, are weak-kneed and depraved now?

A. I cannot say anything for certain about the youths of the foreign countries, but as far as Japanese are concerned, I bitterly feel the necessity of cultivating in them the spirit of fortitude and manliness, and this is exactly the line in which I am doing my utmost to push forward. However, I may say this to the credit of the Japanese youths. The valor shown by our young soldiers in Manchuria and Shanghai Incidents was a real wonder worth while admiring; Some of the scenes revealed by these youths were more impressionable than those at the time of Russo-Japanese War. I am attributing this to the fact that the so-called "true spirit" of a Japanese began to work suddenly at the opportunity of these Incidents.

Q. Mr. Theodore Roosevelt once said that a war was necessary for a nation to uphold its spirit and soul. What do you think of this, Your Excellency?

A. An attempt of a war on the part of a nation is an act of disgracing the spirit of sword and should be considered a crime under any circumstances; at the same time, it would also be an act of crime if a nation showed too strong attachment to the peace. People must have enough courage to resolutely carry out the war if they believed that the war was to the cause of justice. I call this the moral duty charged to nation. Now then, the question is on which occasion does a nation need to fight. Every nation has the right of self-protection and autonomy. Every nation has her own cultural and moral mission - which is aptly called "soul of a nation" by Mr. Roosevelt, and so when her autonomy is interfered with and her independence is imperilled, it is the most proper moral right of the nation to wage a war. In this sense, I can say that Mr. Roosevelt's view on war contains much truth in it.

Q. Do you not consider that the whole political and economic organizations of the world have failed and disclosed their weakness and that now is the time to completely reestablish these organizations?

A. It would absolutely be impossible at any time and in any place to establish political and economic organizations satisfactory to all the people, but I trust it is the natural duty of every one to make his steady effort toward improvement of political and economical conditions of the community to which he belongs.

Def. Doc. No. 1348

Certificate Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, ARAKI, Kinko, hereby certify that a copy of the book attached hereto in Japanese consisting of 47 pages and entitled "War Minister ARAKI Talks on the Current Problems" the ASAHI Series No. 3, published by the SEIKA SHOBO was bought at Tokyo in 1932 and has been in my possession since then.

Signed at IMEFE, Tokyo on this
7th day of Feb. 1947.

ARAKI, Kinko (seal)

I, HASUOKA, Takaaki, hereby certify that the above statement was sworn by the Deponent, who affixed her signature and seal thereto in the presence of this witness.

On the same date
at the same place.

Witness: (Signed) HASUOKA, Takaaki (seal)

一時局問題につき陸相米國通信員に語る

米國聯合通信（アツソシエーテッド・プレス）社東京支局長バツブ氏は二月二十八日夕荒木首相を大臣官邸に訪ひ一時局問題につき左の如く種々質議を提出したので大臣は新聞班長古城大佐を廻し答ふる所があつた。

問 現在滿洲に出動中なる室師團に代るべき他の師團を、内地より朝鮮に移駐するの企圖はないか

答 此事に就ては目下の所にては考へて居らぬ

問 日本軍は哈爾濱、錦州、吉林、鄭家屯、齊々哈爾、打虎山、通遼等滿洲附屬地外の地點を永久に占據せんとするか

答 滿洲鐵線以外の地の駐兵は情況に應ずる一時的便法であつて、其期間の長短は一に滿蒙一帯地方平和の度の如何による。目下の所此等の地方は米だに敗殘兵の横行するあり、匪徒草賊の策動するあつて治安紊亂し、特に民衆の經濟的生活は殆んど破壞されてゐる、然

るに日本軍の行動はこれ迄自衛の行使、匪賊討伐以外一步も出でて居ない、今後別圖の方法を以て我軍及國民の生命財産を脅威せざる

限り軍事的行動は此範圍を出てないことを言明する。
 今や北滿に於ては張作相の更張の下に不逞なる策謀を爲しつつあつた不逞、李杜の使軍の軍隊が、我多門師團に依り哈市附近から撃退された結果、北滿の政情も茲に漸く安定の曙光を認めたわけである。爾今我が軍に對し反抗挑戦し來る、武力國體の存在がなくなればこ

れ以上北滿の地が政權を握る如きことはないであらう

問 多門中將麾下の軍隊は哈市附近に位置するか、又は反軍を追撃して東支鐵道本線に沿ひ東西何れかに向ふや、或は西北松花江下流面に向ふか

答 反吉林軍が我が飛行將校を虐殺し内鮮同胞を殺害加害凌辱拉致し同家産並大北新聞社を破壊掠奪し、更に東支兩線特に双城堡に於て我が軍を急襲した事は忍く迄之を責めねばならぬが其行動は一に其時の情況による用兵上の進退に任せざるを得ぬ。

問

閣下は日本の哈市占據、東支鐵道支線の使用並管理に依り蘇國と衝突する危険なしと信ぜらるゝか。

答

一に蘇國の態度如何による、我れより事端を諍す考へはない、寧ろ予は蘇國及東支鐵道側が我が軍の北滿に於ける行動の正當性を能く諒

解し公正の態度を以て我に臨んだことを多とするものである。抑々蘇國の信奉する共產革命の思想は我が國體と水炭相容れない所があるが、蘇國にして我行動を尊重して之に妨害せざる限りは露國の國

境を侵犯する如きことは断じてない。尙一言し度きは東支鐵道の使用は蘇國の明瞭に承諾せし所で、然も責

質問の如く之を管理した事實はない。

問 日本は右支線を買収する企圖なきや。
答 之れは私の御答へする範圍でない。唯目下左様な考へを聞いて居ら

ぬ。

問

日本は東支鐵道全線の管理を希望せらるゝや。

答

未だかゝる考へを有つたことなし。

問

日本軍と目下滿洲に建設せられんとする新政府との關係如何。
該政府は内は境を保ち三千萬民衆の爲に善政を布き、外は國際信義を重んじ世界各國に均しく門戸開放機會均等の利益を享けしめんことを政綱としてゐるやに觀察する。

問

上海に對する日本軍の企圖如何。
日本の上海派兵は政府聲明の通りで多數の帝國臣民と巨億の財産保護の萬全を期し、併せて租界防備に關する國際的義務を全うするにあるのであるから、支那側にして敵對行爲を終止せざるか或は右我が軍の目的遂行上の行動を妨害しなければ平和裡に解決する事と考へる。

の目的遂行上の行動を妨害しなければ平和裡に解決する事と考へる。

問

日本軍は上海を長期に亘り占據せんとするか。
左様な事は考へて居ないのみならず、可成速かに撤退したい事を切望して居るが、日本軍は受動的立場にあるから支那側の出方一つで多少長引くかも知れぬ。

願くば列國も事件を正當に認識し國際都市の迅速なる常態復歸促進に協力せられんことを望む

協力せられんことを望む

問 上海の外部何れの地點迄作戦行動を企圖するや。

蘇州迄か將た南京か。

答 帝國は不祥事態の擴大悪化を極力防止するに努め、最も徹底に且平和的に居留民の生命財産の不安を一掃し、同時に上海居住の外國人に對しても同福同慶の悦びを享受せしめ様との趣旨で派兵したことは前にも述べた通りである。

事態の擴大悪化は誰しも欲せざる所で、これを欲するものありとせばそれは日支の事端を築くして英米等を紛亂の渦中に引き入れんと企む支那某軍閥と中國共產黨位であらう。

斯くの如くであるから日本軍は現下の狀勢に於ては上海を離れて遠く作戦を遂行する意圖がないことは想像がつくであらう、乍併一度不幸なる事端を生じ相手方にして我れに脅威を與ふれば其軍の行動は一に用兵上の見地に基づく事である事を是認されたい。

何れにしても國際都市上海が脅威せられない範圍に支那軍の撤退を要

求するのは當然で、之れが外交々渉で以て解決するか又は斷然實力を行使して強要せねばならぬかが問題である、吾人は勿論前者を希望するが第十九路軍等の情況果して平和裡の撤退を受け容れるかと疑問であることを懸しむ。

問 日本内地に於ては日本が總動員を行ふとの風評行はれつゝあるが斯かる計畫があるか。

答 全然なし、願くば風評を信ずる勿れ、特に貴社の如きが單なる風説を盲信して事實を調査もせずに通信をなす時其社會を毒すること莫大であると思ふ。

問 滿洲の南方及西方地方即ち北平、天津並熱河地方に關する陸軍の企圖如何。

答 何等考へて居らぬ。

問 陸軍大臣は滿洲に於ける安寧秩序を保障せんが爲前記地方に軍事行動を擴大するを必要と信ぜらるゝや。

答 現在の有様では左様を必要なしと思推す。

問 上海地方に於ける安寧秩序を恢復し之れを維持する爲日本陸軍派遣部隊は在上海の列國陸軍と如何なる程度迄共同動作をなさんとするか。

答 具體的事項は出先司令官に一任してゐる、我が軍は列國協調及び相互扶助の精神により關係各國と共に上海地方の安寧と繁榮との増進を計り、延て東洋の平和と福祉とに貢獻する機充分努力する、この點は待に出先司令官に要望して置いた。

二、比律賓總督ルーズベルト氏と語る

(昭和七年二月二十一日)

赴任途次二日間の豫定を以て東京に滞在した比律賓總督ルーズベルト氏は、二十日午前十時四十分陸相官邸に荒木大臣を訪問し、會談約四十分にて終去せり。會談中時局に關するもの左の如し。

(米大使フォーブス氏、米大使館附陸軍武官マツケロイ中佐外一名を伴ひたり)

總督 此度増兵せらるゝや、本二十吉の線を超へて日本軍が進出するところあるや。

大臣 我等は出来得れば成可上海に於ける軍事行動の範圍を減縮し、迅速に之を解決し、上海を速に平和状態に復舊せしむることに努めたいを考へたり。

二十吉の線を超えるや否やは一方に先方の出方と情勢に依るので、先方が二十吉外より挑戦せば勢ひ此の線を超えるの已むを得ないこともあると思ふ。

元來十九旅は廣東軍であつて一部赤軍も混つて居る。蔣介石軍が之を援助することとて現在の兵力は九萬に上つて居る、増兵も一に此の後の十九旅の出方如何に依るものであるが現在の兵力丈で速に局面解決を希ふて居る次第である、ドレ丈の兵力を派遣するやは參謀本部當局で決めるのであつて之には苦心して居る次第である。

フオーブス大使 十九旅に赤軍が混入つて居たら支那側の白軍で之を叩かしめたら何んなものかと思ふ。

大臣 支那軍中の今日の赤兵は明日の白兵であつて絶へず變るのであるから御話の様なことは希望する所なるも實現は困難ならん。

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米武官 當方側に入手した情報では蘇聯邦が露支國境に増兵し殊に戰車
空軍兵力の増加を見たとのことであるが如何。

大臣 滄鹽等に増兵警戒を嚴にしたとの情報はあつたが彼等は日軍と事を
構す意志はないと謂ふて居る。

某方面よりの情報では蔣介石が蘇聯邦當局に乞ふて新彊省より三百萬
發の小銃彈等兵器彈藥の補給を行ふ爲め其の兵站線を三ヶ月以内に設
置すとの噂もある。

三、國際聯盟調査員一行と荒木陸相の會談要旨

國際聯盟調査員一行は三月五日午前十時陸相官邸に荒木大臣を訪ね、正午に亘り時局
につき會談せり。本記事は其要旨を記憶を辿り手記せるものにして談話者の檢閲を經
たるものにあらす。

古城新聞班長

リットン卿 本日は時に作戦上より見たる滿洲と日本の關係に就き承りた
し。

大臣 日本は過去三百年徳川時代鎖國の爲め平和は續いた、此間日本民
族は平和に馴致された、けれども明治初年開國と共に世界と交通する

に到つた。

日本は當時僅に十四萬方哩（現在二十六萬方哩）で此少なる領土なるに拘はらず日本の大部分は山岳と荒地で可耕面積は僅に其の一割五分であつてフィンランドや伊太利よりも悪いと思ふ。

明治以來土地は狭く人口は増殖し、欧米の投資に依りやつと今日迄の國運を開拓した、此間支那は日本を脅かし對馬、北海道が危險に迫り朝鮮は脅威された、明治十七年の變を始めとし朝鮮は度々支那の手に廻られたのであつた。

次で日清戦争が起つた、定遠、鎮遠の七千噸の戦艦に對し日本は三千噸級の軍艦で戦ひ支那は臺灣を割讓した。

こゝで露西亞の問題が起つた。一即ち三國干涉である一自分は此問題に感憤して軍人た然と志したのであつた。

此の三國干涉で遼島半島は還附した、それ以來滿洲問題は非常に深刻な感情を日本國民に與へた爾來露西亞が滿洲に實權を振つた、此れは

今日の露西亞の問題が起つた發端である、滿洲が十年間支那より放棄され露西亞が滿洲を支配した當時、我々青年の頭に影じたのは此の滿洲問題であつた、此の脅威を取除くにあらざれば東洋の平和は招來されないのであつた、そこで一九〇四―一九〇五年の日露戦争は起つた。

今一つ此の重要な主眼の外に生活上の問題がある。

世界は日本に對し八方塞りの門戸を閉鎖した、加洲、豪洲の如きもそうである、或に日本は世界と共に滿洲に生きて行く必要があるので國民は之を重大視するに到つた。

リットン卿 日本人口増加の場合滿洲は日本人の爲め原料を供給する爲め

必要なりや、又既得利益に生きて行くのであるか。

大臣 日本は正當なる行爲の行使が出来れば良いので、人類として自然の途に進んで行きたいのである、××××××××即ち世界が許す範圍内に生きて行くのである――平和より博愛、公明正大の下に進むことが第一歩である。

簡単に謂へば、
滿洲には我々の生活を最合理化した平和な滿洲が出来れば良いのである。

日本の東洋に對する使命を果し且つ資本搾取もなく滿洲に生きて行くことが出来れば良いので、滿洲には内鮮人、支那人、欧米人たるを問はず合理化した平和を招來すれば良いのである、故に世界人類の平和を招來すれば良いので、若し露國が脅かす場合は之を防がねばならぬと思ふ。

最近二十年間支那の革命後滿洲は常に混亂されたる状態である、滿洲に於て日本側が如何に平和を保たんと努めても支那側は常に之を裏切つた、殊に青島還附後支那は一層激化した、排日侮日を以て迎へ撃ち最近中村少佐事件、萬寶山事件等頻々と起つた、此等多年に亘る排日侮日の繼續が日本を憤起せしめたので日本人全般の意思が強くなつた用兵上の必要から謂へば滿洲に於ける平和が確保せらるゝことゝ平和

を亂するものを防止することが日本の義務である。故に平和を維持する丈の用兵上の目的を達せば良いのである、重ねて謂ふが日本を除いて誰が東洋の平和を維持し得るか。

リットン卿 日本に好意を表する滿洲新政府が支那本部との間の緩衝地帯として必要なりや、又は諸條約に基き日本は攻勢的行動に出るの必要ありや。

大臣 極東の現状に鑑み滿洲の平和を保持し得れば可なり、此れは一に他外國の信用如何の問題である、即ち東洋平和即滿洲の平和を維持し得る實力ある新國家が出来れば結構と思ふ、

マツコイ少將(米) 支那に關する限り滿洲に實力ある條約を實行し得る新國家が出来れば日本は満足するならんも露西亞が侵略したら如何にするや。

大臣 國防には對照的と絶對的の二あり、露西亞が思想的にも國際的にも信用出来るや、又支那は現在國家を成立して居ないので現状に照し信用出来るや、日本は最少限度に東洋の平和を確保することが出来る

は可なり。

露西亞が思想的にも其他の目的にも東洋に侵略せば之は許すことは出来な、又支那に信用すべき政府出来れば之に對しても必要を對策に出ねばならぬ。

露西亞が極東に増兵するのは其の理由に苦しむので東洋平和の上より之れは撤兵すべきものである。

四、陸相留任の心境を佛紙記者に語る

佛國「フテイパリジャン」紙特派員ヴィオリス夫人の陸相に對する質疑と其解答

問 閣下の留任決意に對する世評を如何に考察せらるゝや。

答 一才上の變遷衰敗の如き何等意に介する暇を持たない、天にして眞に我を知らば他人の知るを求めざるものである。

問 佛國民に對する閣下の御傳言あらば承り度。

答 近時帝國々民の心情を最も能く理解せんとする眞なる態度を示さるゝは佛國民を以て第一となす。其帝國に對する同情は感謝に堪へざ

る所である。義に歐洲戦争に於ては帝國は佛國と協力し世界平和の爲正義人道の爲奮闘したのである。

帝國の庶幾する所は世界平和の促進、國際正義の確立にある、何卒佛國民が國際平和の眞因を諒得せられ日本現下の立場を理解せられて彼此互に提携相援けて依て以て平和の促進に更に一步を進められんことを希望するものである。

時に自分は素々より佛國々民性が如何なる困難に遭遇するも毅然として其祖國愛の熱情を變化せない、其愛國心には常に敬意を表するものである、普佛戦後の佛國々民の舉目一致的態度、又世界戦争のあの困難なる時機に及後まで毫も變らざりし士氣と愛國心を思ふ時眞に吾人の精神に透徹する共通の精神がある、佛國々民諸員が永遠に此心を失はざらん事を祈り絶大の敬意を表する事を友邦佛國民諸員に傳へられたい。

五 陸相のリットン卿一行に懇談した要旨

(昭和七年七月七日)

國際政局上に於ける、大日本帝國の態度なり、對策なりを御理解を頂く爲には、其前提として日本夫れ自己の文化體系と、此文化體系から生れ来る大和民族の必然的願望とを、御研究頂く事と帝國と直接關係を有する友邦、殊に、帝國を圍繞する國家の實情とを理解されねばならぬのであります。日本夫れ自己の問題に就ては過般御話を致した處であります。今回は極東の將來に關する、私の判断を申述べまして、極東の平和確立を願念致します。帝國の對極東殊に對滿蒙策の必然的妥當性を有する事と致したのであります。以下之に就て申述べます。

支那の將來、一極東問題を御考へになる、基礎となりますものは、何んと申しましても、彼の龐大なる領域の上に、四千年の歴史的發展として存在して居ります。四億の衆から成立する漢民族社會の存在其のものであります。今回の御謁見に方りまして帝國が先づ以て、支那の御謁見

を願ひたい事を、提議致しましたのも、之が爲であります。此の民族は一八四〇年頃迄は殆んど鎖國的に漢民族独自の文化を持つて來たのであります。夫れが、御承知の阿片戦争によりまして初めて近代的歐洲文化に、直面致す事となりまして、夫れから從來の支那社會の紛亂的特質に對し、更に一段と内外兩方面から、其紛亂の種子を播きまして、今日に及んで居るのであります。

私共東洋人が、永き東洋の歴史的發展の、過程に生存しまして、支那民族の將來を眺めまするのに、甚だ悲しむべき事ではあります。世界の先進的指導國家が、今日の如く、過度に打算に捕はれて、實惠的な、對支那態度を繼續致します限り、支那の社會は、殆んど半永久的に、今日の如き、紛亂狀態を重ね行くものであつて、余り遠からざる將來に於て支那全國が彼の恐るべき共產匪賊により、全面的に亂せらるゝにあらざると、憂慮致さるゝのであります。實に、如斯悲しむべき事態の、到來を防止し、萬一之が到來致します場合に於て、帝國が、其禍害を防止

致します爲の、世界的人類協力の、骨幹となりまして、極東の平和確立に、精進致さんとする事が之帝國の、有ゆる具體的對策の根本を爲して居るのであります。而して支那が、此悲しむべき方向に、進みあることは、單に一九一二年の、革命以來の支那の政治、社會狀態、殊に第三インターの支那革命援助以來の、實情を御觀察になりまして、之を支那古來の政治狀態に比較致しますれば、何人も、想像判斷し得る事願であります。實に、四億の民衆と、彼の廣大な地域、及之に包蔵する、經濟價值とから致しまして、支那の將來を、如何に誘導致すかと申す事は世界の有ゆる知識を集めて、研究致さねばならぬ、世界人の共通問題であります。我國の常に憂慮しめる重大問題であります。

帝國の對支那根本策 三 以上の二つの重大なる事實の存在が、我が日本の對極東政策を決定せしむる、有力なる根本を爲すものであります。即ち、支那に對しましては、極東の平和確立を念として、内外の諸政を處理して行くものを、相手として、現實的に諸般の關係を、籌して行く外

に手段がないのであります。而して各部分々々なりとも、平和が確立せられ、夫れが彼此互に提攜して、逐次全般的の、安定を招來致す様に、待望致す以外に、致方ないのであります。然かも、此間支那の、治安能力が破れまして、現實的に、外人の生命財産が、危急に瀕するが如き場合には、遍時適切な、手段を採り、此禍害から逸るゝ事を努め、萬已むなくば、自衛權の發動を見ねばならぬのであります。殊に、此關係は、我國存立の生命線とも申す、滿洲に於て、左様であります。今度皆様は、滿洲國を御觀察になられました、滿洲が日本の存立に對し、如何に重要緊切の、關係にあるかを、御諒解された事と信じます。殊に、其地理的關係から致しまして國防上の要求に於て、殆んど絶對的のものが存する事を、御諒解下された事と存じます。

帝國の對滿洲國策 四 今や滿洲には、御承知の如き、立國の精神に基く新なる國家が發生致しましたが、此國家が、終始立國の精神を堅持せられ、我が國と協力して、極東平和の確立に努力致さるゝ限り、帝國は此

國家の、健全なる發達を、庶幾すると共に、之に對し、應分の援助を致さねばならぬのであります。而して、此新國家が、立國の理想に向ひ、歩一步發達し行きますなれば、夫れは、總ては、爾他支那大陸の政情、安定の指針ともなります事と、確信致すのであります。一個の人間と雖も、生れたものは、之を育まねばなりません。未れが人情であります。況や、三千萬の民衆の群によりまして、一つの社會現象として、一つの國家が生れたる以上、之と利害關係の密接なる國家社會が、之を見殺す事は、出來ぬのみならず、なるべく速かに、完全なるものとなる様、御援助を致す事が人道であり、國策道であると信ずるのであります。實に、滿洲國の健全なる發達は、極東平和確立の、第二礎石でありまして、帝國としては、二度と再び、極東大陸に、大きな血を流す様な事態の發生を防止せんと願望の下に、今日の國民的行動を取行致して居るのであります。

一、滿洲國國防問題

滿洲に於ける諸問題は、帝國自身の運命と、直接不可分の關係を有するのであります。何となれば、

第一、滿洲は帝國國防の絶對的第一線を形成すること

第二、滿洲は我國國民經濟上の生命線を構成すること

第三、滿洲は過去の歴史的並現在の事實的關係に於て我國民意識上特殊の關心を包蔵すること等の諸點に於て、滿洲は、帝國と有機的關係を有するばかりでなく、同國は、亦、世界文明諸國共同の敵である。

第三「インターナショナル」に對する防衛上の、前哨線を形成するのであります。

従て、滿洲に於ける、治安が維持せられ、此處に日支兩民族共榮共存の理想郷が發展致しますことは、帝國自體の健全さ、存立上、絶對的必要條件でありまして、滿洲國の、安危は、直ちに以て、帝國に影響を及ぼすのであります。茲に於てか、帝國は、滿洲國の國防問題に關しては、世界の他の何れの國よりも、尤も重大なる關心を持つて居るのであります。

二、滿洲國の交通問題

滿蒙に於ける交通網は、舊軍閥時代の、無統制な建設の結果、鐵道にありては、殆んど其の主要幹線毎に、運轉系統を具にし、通信施設にありては、各主要都市毎に、局所的發展をなして居るに過ぎませぬ。従つて交通網の生命とも謂ふべき、全般的統制連絡を、著しく缺いて居るのであります。

然るに、滿蒙に於ける、交通々信の諸施設は、現下の特殊事情である兵匪及一般の治安維持上、並に將來に於ける、經濟的發展、特に資源の開發上、極めて重要な役割を演ずるものでありますから、速に、統制ある施設經營を必要とするのであります。

三、日本人官吏の採用問題

事變勃發以來、舊東北政權に屬して居りました官吏は、多く逃亡し、新國家は、多年の宿望である、原住諸民族の平和と幸福とを、實現致します爲、在滿諸民族中、彼等の信望するに足る人物を招聘し、協力一致以て、理想郷の成立に努力して居るのであります。

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之に關しましては、既に十二月十日、理事會決議採擇の際、我代表が明白に之を留保すると共に、十二月二十七日の第三次聲明書に於きましても、之を明確にした次第であります。

従つて、帝國軍の撤退時期は、單なる法理的觀點に於きましては、匪賊が潰滅し、内外からする治安の破壊を、斷滅し、帝國軍の出動を必要としない時期であるといふことゝなりますが、之に關しましては、其後新に滿洲國の希望をも參酌して、現實的事態の必要に即しまして善處することゝなつたのであります。

五、滿洲問題の解決策

滿洲問題の解決策は、現實に發展しつゝある、滿洲の事態を正しく認識して、之を解決することが賢明の策であります。

今や滿洲國は、對外的には、既往の國際的義務の踏襲、並に機會均等門戶開放を約し、又國內的には、治安の回復維持と、一般政務の整理刷新とに努力致しまして、内外兩方面に亘り、獨立國家たるの性能と、

實力とを具現することに、營々として努力して居ります。

斯様な、現實の事態に對しまして、若し之が、世界人類の平和幸福上若くは、東洋平和の維持上、障礙をなすならば兎も角、本事態の發生こそは、單に三千萬民衆の、理想である計りでなく、總ては、支那大陸の政情安定の、動機となり、惹ては東洋平和促進の契機ともなりま

すから、諸國は理に於ても當然、其の發達を庶幾すべきものであると信ずるのであります。若し滿洲の斯様な、新事態の發展に對しまして列國が之を阻害して、或は滿洲國を、中華民國の宗主權の下に、國際管理國としようとか、或は國際聯盟の委任統治國にしようと呼ぶが如きは已に誕生した滿洲國の發育を危うし、事態を事變前の、混亂不安状態に轉回しようとするもので此のことは、滿洲と國防上、經濟上並歴史特殊の關係を有する帝國にとりまして、憂慮に堪へない計りでなく、東洋平和の維持上、惹ては國際政局上誠に遺憾とする所であり

ます。従つて、列國は、滿洲に於ける現實の事態に對しまして、正鵠

な認識を與へ、健實な發達を助長することが、滿洲問題解決の捷徑であると思ふ次第であります。

六 新日本の理想

米國ハースト國際通信社及コスモポリタン雜誌社特別通信員兼ナショナル放送會社代表者
フレイジエ・ハント氏提出の荒木陸相への質問事項並解答

問 數次の内閣にして時局收拾に失敗せば、フアツシヨ政府を正當視するに至るものと思ふに、御意見如何。

答 日本の歴史を顧みるに、佛敎、儒敎、基督敎等何れの新思想、新宗教、新文化をも一視同仁悉く之を輸入したが、我民族は之を咀嚼し、消化し、自己を養ふの血とし肉として了つた、そして金 無缺の國體は之に依り益々其盛華を發揮したのである、「イタリー」に出現したファッシズムの如きは伊國の民族と歴史と地理との特殊環境よりの產物で伊國に於てはムッソリニ氏の下に誠に敬仰すべきものではあるが、日本には日本の理想即ち皇道があり、従つて日本が所謂フアツシヨ化する

る等考ふるのは全く皮相の判断にして、語謬も亦甚しいものと思ふ。

問 日本陸軍は純然たる日本の理想の上に築かるゝ新日本を促進し、鼓吹する權利を有せざるや。

(註、國家の爲是と信ずれば武力を行使する權能なきや)

答 日本國民理想の實現は軍人のみでなく、國民全般が一致努力すべきである、皇軍は直接政治に干與すべきものでなく、皇軍嚴として存する限り悪政なからしむることが理想である。而して如何なる場合に於ても、皇軍の動くは一に大元帥陛下の御命令によるものである。

問 テオドル・ルーズヴェルト氏は、戦争は一國の精神並一國の魂を維持する爲必要なりと謂へり、閣下は之を眞理と思はれざるか。

答 國家が如何なる場合に於ても、戦争を企圖するは即ち武を贖すものであつて罪惡たると等しく、如何なる場合に於ても平和に眷戀たるも亦罪惡である、國民は正義と信ずる戦争を必要とする場合は斷々乎として之を決行するの勇氣がなければならぬ、是國家當然の道德上の義

務である、然らば如何なる場合に國家は戦争を必要とするか。
 抑々各國家は、各々自衛自主權を保持し、各々固有の文化的道德的使
 命——ルーズヴェルト氏の所謂一國の魂——を有するものであるから、
 其自衛自主權が侵害せられ、其自由なる存立條件が脅かされたる場合
 戦争を決行するのは正に道德上の國家當然の權利である、故に此意味
 に於て、ルーズヴェルト氏の戦争觀は、眞理の舍れて居ることを肯定
 することが出来る。

問 全世界に於ける政治及經濟組織は失敗に歸し、其缺陷を暴露したと
 考へられざるや、即ち現在世界は是等を根本的に立て直す時機なりと
 考へられざるや。

答 何時の世、如何なる所に於ても、政治及經濟組織に對し萬人萬悦す
 ることは絶対にないであらう、けれ共政治及經濟の改善に對し、歩一
 歩努力を致すべきは人間當然の義務と思考す。

全般に就て

大日本帝國陸軍當局は自國臣民の生命財産及權益に重大なる脅威を受

DefDoc#1848

同日於同所

立會人 蓮岡高明

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタルモノナルコトヲ證明ス

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あさひ叢書第三號荒木陸相時局談ト題スル書籍ハ一九三二年東京ニ
於テ購入シ爾來自分ニ於テ藏置セル書籍ナルコトヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年二月七日 於極東軍事裁判所

荒木錦子